

Boards and Committees for
ous Objectors in Britain have
al arrangements for the social
open meetings which are being
tion with CO Fellowship Week
17. Details are given below.
ordially invited to attend the
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Ask your local group to help
the Central Board of Conscientious
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COs about the Week. Remem-
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me for action is NOW.

p.m., Sat., Oct. 10. Friends' Meet-
E.17. Speaker: Walter E. Sprad-
m., Sat., Oct. 24. Bourne Meet-
N.14. Speaker: The Rev. Canon

p.m., Sat., Oct. 10. Friends' Meet-
Rd. Speaker (at 6.30 p.m.): The
Sat., Oct. 10. Congregational Church
ker: Fred Hannant.
p.m., Thur., Oct. 15. Friends' Meet-
Speaker: John Hoyland.
Sat., Nov. 7. Friends' Meeting House
Lane. Open meeting at 6.30 p.m.
n., Sat., Oct. 10. Friends' Meeting
St. Speaker (at 6.30 p.m.): The

shop weekend
Peace News
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this weekend (October 3 and 4)
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be among the tasks.

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PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

No. 902

October 9 1953

FOURPENCE (U.S. 5 cents)

MR. ATTLEE AND
HIS OVERCOAT

By Emrys Hughes, MP

PAGE SIX

RITCHIE CALDER TELLS
LABOUR:

Fight against world poverty

"I REJECT wars that kill, but there is one war to which we have to commit ourselves and to which I am prepared to give my life: war against world poverty."

This declaration by Ritchie Calder, CBE, Science Editor of the News Chronicle, set the keynote for the Labour Peace Fellowship's first public meeting held at Margate last week in connection with the Labour Party Conference.

With him on the platform were three MPs, Leslie Hale, Emrys Hughes and Reginald Worsen, chairman.

Ritchie Calder gave a stirring account of a campaign by the United Nations to stamp out disease called yaws in Java.

"It afflicts young and old in tropical countries. It disfigures not only people but the landscape as well," he said.

After describing the derelict villages and neglected farm lands which were evidence of a yaws-infected neighbourhood, he described how he and other UN workers with penicillin moved like an army, attacking the dread disease.

"A few weeks ago," Ritchie Calder continued, "one of these Javanese villages held a festival. They gathered together and brought their contributions and they danced and sang."

"In their dancing each one recalled what this disease was like. Now they were cured of yaws and were holding a 'rebirth-day' to celebrate it. The world had come in and helped them with their disease."

In sharp contrast to this work which had saved the lives of millions, Ritchie Calder told of a visit he had paid to a maternity hospital in East Bengal. There six women were dying in childbirth whose lives would have been saved had proper medical attention been available.

Jobs for the generals
Emrys Hughes, MP told the meeting that he thought the Labour Party was "a great deal healthier than when we met at Margate three years ago and adopted the rearmament programme."

Today the Labour Party delegates were critical of rearmament, and many resolutions dealing with it were on the conference agenda.

He said "atom bombs and tanks cannot destroy Communism."

"I believe in Communism based on the brotherhood of men and Christianity, but not militarism," said Emrys Hughes.

"I do not believe I would be considered an orthodox member of the Communist Party."

* Page Six

Giving Labour a lead!

Thousands of delegates and visitors to the Labour Party Conference at Margate last week stopped to look at the peace literature displayed on the Labour Peace Fellowship bookstall in the Conference buildings. Councillor J. Elliot, of the Labour Peace Fellowship, is talking to Ben Willets (left) and Hugh Brock (right), of the Peace News staff, who organised the bookstall on behalf of the LPF.



Malaya, Korea, Egypt, Kenya, British Guiana

DOES CALL-UP PREPARE FOR DEFENCE—OR WAR?

Conscript refuses military service, declares British foreign policy aggressive

BRITAIN conscripts boys at the age of 17½ for two years' military service. During that period conscripts can be called upon to fight in colonial wars. Last week one young man protested against being called up for this purpose. The challenge he presented at the London Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors is reported below by Our Special Correspondent.

THE vexed question of the "partial" objector to military service was raised again at the sitting of the London Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors last week.

This Tribunal's original interpretation of the clauses in the National Service Act regarding conscientious objectors is still being adhered to in spite of the fact that the Appellate Tribunal has recognised this particular kind of objection.

John Douglas Reekie, of Richmond, Surrey, submitted the following statement in support of his application for exemption from National Service:

Endangering democracy

"The objection that I have to National Service does not stem either from an objection on principle to fighting nor from an objection to conscription as such.

"I do not quarrel with the need to defend one's country, rather I place the defence of the essence of the democratic system as exemplified in this country as my primary social duty.

"Yet, accepting this need, my conscience cries out that the policy pursued by the successive Governments of this country in the name of 'defence' is more calculated to result in the complete annihilation of those things which we all agree should be defended.

"I cannot see how I should be defending 'Democracy' by lending my help in repressing the democratic aspirations of the ordinary people of Malaya, Kenya, Korea, Egypt, etc. Rather my contribution to defence should be to do all in my power to convince the majority that the Western concept of morality is not really that which is exhibited in the process of turning the villages of Malaya and Kenya into new 'Lidices' or that shown in murdering a primitive people for joining a secret society.

Adopting totalitarian methods

"No contribution to defence is made, I believe, by following those policies of repression and destruction which, while supported

by the majority of people in this country, endeavour to defeat totalitarianism by adopting its methods.

"The economic totalitarianism of the West—with its exploitation of subject peoples—repels the conscience as much as the political totalitarianism of the Stalinist countries.

"To state the case concisely:

- (1) I am not a pacifist. I fully realise the need for defence, but,
- (2) Defence does not seem to be best served by a policy which I believe is merely aggression on other peoples.
- (3) As service in the armed forces at the moment demands support for such aggression I cannot conscientiously serve in them.

"This attitude has not just conveniently appeared. It has been arrived at during activity in the Labour Movement since the age of 13½ years—since when I have held a large range of positions in the Labour Party and have fought for the attitude which I have outlined.

Page Six

MPs TO VISIT KENYA

"Welcome decision"

—FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

AN all-party delegation of peers and MPs is to go out to Kenya to investigate Government handling of the Mau Mau problem.

A request from Labour MPs for this to be done was rejected by the Government earlier this year.

Asked by Peace News to comment on this decision, Mr. Fenner Brockway, MP, said this week:

"I welcome the decision.
"The important thing now is the personnel of the commission. It is vital that they should see and hear everything and be allowed to go to the prisons and concentration camps and that Africans who want to do so should have the freedom to see members of the commission.

"The appointment of members of the commission will doubtless be by the leaders of the three parties.

"It is of the very greatest importance that Labour should have representatives with a broad attitude to the problems of Kenya."

U.S. BOMBERS FLY CLOSE TO SOVIET TERRITORY

AMERICAN ten-engined atom bombers are to go on training exercises in North-West Greenland and North Africa according to the Daily Express, October 5.

In Greenland the planes will be less than a thousand miles from Murmansk and in North Africa probably flying within 500 miles of the Soviet-bloc state of Albania.

These pupils need land

From Lucy O. Kingston

THE connection between Basic Education—started by Gandhi in India 15 years ago—and the Land-sharing scheme of Vinoba Bhave started three years ago was stressed by Miss Marjorie Sykes when she spoke at a public meeting in Dublin organised by the Friends Peace Committee (Quakers).

When pupils trained in a basic school, with its emphasis on farm-work, came to leaving age the provision of land was an obvious necessity.

(Vinoba Bhave injured—page 3)

AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

Helpers are wanted by Mr. I. K. Eaton, 54 Stalbridge St., N.W.1, for canvassing and leaflet distribution in support of an "End Conscription" meeting to be held in Paddington Town Hall, on October 30, in connection with the No Conscription Council's petition.

The Indians and the Chinese prisoners

From a Correspondent

IF we could know what were the experiences that impelled the Chinese POW sergeant, Wang Shu, first to declare that he did not want to be repatriated, and then to declare to the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea that he wanted to go back we should be in a much better position to understand the kind of pressures that have been exerted upon these unhappy men, the very great difficulties the Repatriation Commission (and particularly the Indians) are having to face, and what was really behind the tragic happenings on Koje.

The Indians, who have undertaken very difficult and onerous duties in Korea, seem to have been doing their work in exemplary fashion. They are at present being subjected to a barrage of hate from Syngman Rhee and his Ministers, who may be seeking to find the occasion for restarting the war in an incident arising from the repatriation arrangements.

Mr. Cho Chung Whan, the Acting S. Korean Foreign Minister, speaks of the evil acts that are being committed by the Indians and threatens to drive them from Korea by armed force.

There has been firing by Indian guards in order to prevent prisoners from breaking out of their control. On one occasion one prisoner was killed, and on another two. These are the evil acts referred to by Mr. Whan.

These shootings are greatly to be regretted, but they must be measured against the violence used by the Americans on Koje when on more than one occasion there was a very heavy death-roll, the worst incident resulting in 100 deaths and 100 wounding among the prisoners.

Sergeant Wang Shu, referred to above, had expressed, according to the Repatriation Commission, a desire to be returned to China and he had been sent there. This brought an angry demonstration from the prisoners who were declaring against repatriation.

Angry threats turned to cheers

Major-General Thorat, of the Indian Custodian Force, with other officers, entered the compound to discuss the matter. After an altercation one of the Indian officers, Major Grewel, was overpowered by the prisoners who announced that he would only be released on the return of Wang Chu.

Dealing with the prisoners on this matter, General Thorat suddenly remarked smilingly to a prisoner who understood English: "What sort of Chinese are you? Where is your hospitality? You have neither offered my men tea nor cigarettes."

On this, reports India News, the prisoners' anger seemed to vanish. Tea and cigarettes were brought and after some further discussion in this friendlier atmosphere Major Grewel was produced.

As General Thorat left the compound he was cheered by the prisoners.

A good record

General Thorat said that his officers and men acted with exemplary patience and there is a good deal of other testimony that this is so.

The New York Times, for instance, for September 18, remarks that the record of the Indians in keeping order "is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the Indians are unarmed (this relates to the initial process of sorting the prisoners) and seldom use their hands for more than a reminding push along the processing line or an occasional pat on the back to assure a glowering POW that they are friendly.

"On the occasions when the POWs, infuriated at the sight of their enemies almost at arm's length, strike out blindly at the Indian soldiers to break past them, the Indians close in calmly but with lightning-like swiftness, hustle the men along the line.

"Without speaking the anti-Communist prisoners' language the Indian Army Guards in this neutral zone compound seem to understand how to transmit a feeling of friendship, and at the same time let the POWs know they will tolerate no nonsense. The guards do in fact actually treat the Chinese like bewildered children."

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

9th October, 1953

THE END OF THE ARMS RACE

IN his comments last week on the Labour Party Conference, Mr. Emrys Hughes drew attention to the unreality of outlook which could spend a week in discussions on political questions during which the factor of the presence in the world of the atom and hydrogen bombs was for all practical purposes ignored.

This lack of a sense of reality, however, is dominating the activities of the politicians of all the Parties and all the Powers. They continue to contemplate relationships between the nations along the lines of traditional political thinking, refusing to face the fact that the conditions of the world today have so fundamentally changed that the traditional political assumptions have ceased to be relevant.

An outstanding instance of this is to be found in the attitude of the Powers to competition in arms. The traditional assumption upon which all the Powers sought to act—an assumption that was always blind in one eye, but was nevertheless persisted in—was that it was necessary for national safety to be stronger than any possible enemy or even than any possible combination of enemies; hence the arms race.

It now becomes evident that the arms race has run its course. It can go no further.



The first experimental atom bomb was exploded by the US Government at Alamogordo in July, 1945. The first experimental atom bomb exploded by the Russian Government was in September, 1949. The first experimental hydrogen bomb was exploded by America in November, 1952. It had a force of 3,000,000 tons of TNT, or 150 times that of the atom bomb exploded at Hiroshima. Bombs of much greater power than this can now be made, probably with a force of 10,000,000 tons of TNT, or 500 times that of the Hiroshima bomb. The first Russian hydrogen bomb was exploded in August, 1953.

As a result of these developments, Mr. Dulles has commented that physical scientists have "found means which, if they are developed, can wipe life off the surface of this planet." These means are now, of course, being developed on both sides of the iron curtain.

Now the arms race throughout history has had a double character. The contending nations have sought to have a greater accumulation of various instruments of destruction and of men trained to operate them than a possible enemy; they have also sought to outpace the possible enemy in the creation of new and more destructive means, that will reduce to futility any defensive apparatus the enemy may have constructed.

The second of these aspects of the arms race has now reached the ultimate. It can go no further: and its character is such that it can overwhelm any accumulation of weapons of war of what are now called a "conventional" character, and thus the race in mere quantities is also nullified. Both sides in the power struggle have now at their disposal a sufficient supply of A and H bombs to bring complete destruction to their enemy. Whatever may be done in regard to measures of protection for populations so threatened—and it does not appear to be very much—it is quite clear now that it is impossible to take any further steps to deter a prospective enemy by increasing the threat against him. The threat is now absolute. If each side has sufficient destructive material for the complete destruction of the opponent there is no point in adding to that material.

The traditional conception of militaristic peace-making, "If you would have peace, prepare for war"—and prepare in such a way that you will be stronger than your enemy, cannot now have any further relevance to the situation. Even the militarists, therefore, will have to try to rise above their instinctive reflexes and think along other lines in seeking national safety.



There will be no way of meeting the problem by ruling out the use of atomic bombs in warfare and conducting wars without them. It may be possible to reach agreement on the banning of A and H bombs and on the provision of the necessary controls to ensure that they shall not be made—in times of peace. The knowledge of how to make them will still be there, however, and given war entered upon by two of the major Powers—and not conducted at one remove, as in Korea at the expense of puppet victims—sooner or later the atomic weapon will be used.

The end of the arms race will mean either the end of war or the end of mankind through global catastrophe.

The impasse that has been reached in the arms race is reflected in the stalemate position that exists in regard to every negotiation that should be taking place; on Korea; on Germany and Austria; on the proceedings of the United Nations Assembly; everywhere a dead end seems to have been reached.

Each separate nation will do well to resolve that the days of war are over and stop preparing for it. When it is realised and accepted that the possibility of a solution by arms or the threat of arms is a thing of the past it may be possible for the Powers to come together to make a peace on the basis of peaceful aims and peaceful means.

Troops to British Guiana

THE British Government is seeking to subdue by a show of force the demands for a greater measure of independence that are being made in British Guiana by the Peoples Progressive Party which, while it admits Communists, has nevertheless been returned to power by a majority of the voters.

In observing the development of this situation what must not be lost sight of is the legislation that was actually before the House of Assembly when the decision was taken to send troops.

This is a Labour Relations Bill which gives the Labour Minister power to examine whether a trade union can claim to speak for the majority of workers in an industry. If he decides that it can, the Bill proposes that he shall be empowered to require its recognition by the employers.

There is very great wealth and appalling poverty in British Guiana and what is happening today is very closely related to that fact.

"How to read the newspapers"

THE handling by the Beaverbrook Press of the news on British Guiana and on other issues where the operations of British imperialism are in question provides a striking example of the need to apply the tests suggested by Dr. Alex Comfort in Peace News last week.

The Beaverbrook Press has a policy of shamelessly extolling the imperialism of naked force so long as it is British imperialism.

On Monday the Evening Standard had Lord Hailsham urging the use of the mailed fist to prevent the end of British control in Egypt; and the reports in the Daily Express are heavily charged with phrases that are calculated to produce the prejudice that will prevent a consideration of the real issues presented by what is happening in British Guiana. It speaks for instance of protective measures that are to be taken "if the Communist-dominated Cabinet calls on its supporters to rise in revolt and launch a Mau-Mau war on the British."

The German menace

KRUPPS turns to Ploughshares: Threat to Britain" are the headlines to the Manchester Guardian's account of the "come-back" of the great armaments manufacturer of two world wars.

In all parts of the world, particularly in Asia and the undeveloped areas, Krupps is entering upon construction contracts.

It is emerging, according to the Guardian's correspondent, as Britain's most dangerous rival in these areas.

Had Mr. Attlee this in mind when he remarked at Margate that Germany could not be left "without any burden of armaments while we are pledged to defend her?" It is apparently necessary for our economic safety that Germany should beat her ploughshares into swords.

The fact that a disarmed nation may provide a "menace" is an indication that the problem of peace is a unity that has to be approached in the social and economic field as well as in the field at present dominated by armed power. This does not mean that while a neutralised Korea can be seriously discussed a neutralised Germany is an impracticability. It would be a great contribution to world peace if a neutralised, unarmed Germany were to devote the expenditure that arms would demand to precisely the kind of development work that Krupps will be undertaking. But it would need a radical change in tradi-

tional economic conceptions.

If the political parties are sincere in their desire to help the under-developed nations they have to find an answer to the problem that such a policy presents.

Its solution would lead to the construction of a very different kind of social order.

BEHIND THE NEWS

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The Pope on war crimes

THE remark of the Pope, in addressing the International Congress on Penal Law, that "one who is outside the quarrel feels there is something wrong when, at the end of hostilities he sees the conqueror judge the conquered for the crimes of war, when the conqueror himself has been guilty of similar deeds toward the conquered" is a clear indication that in his view the Nuremberg war crimes trials were a travesty of justice.

There is, however, a complete absence of any practical sense in most of the remainder of his comments.

He suggested, for instance, that "the waging of modern war except in self-defence" should be constituted a crime.

There is nothing new in this. It has always been a part of Catholic doctrine and it has always been completely futile.

Not only each nation, but the Catholic Hierarchy of each nation is always ready to declare that it is fighting in self-defence, or in defence of its vital interests, and the Vatican has never yet been prepared to make an unequivocal pronouncement which would require action against the Catholic Hierarchy in any country.

It is completely useless to make these general pronouncements if they are never to have any particular application.

As to the various other actions the Pope declared should constitute crimes—if there is no possibility of these being brought to trial at the end of a war where there has been no complete victory, as in Korea, it is very evident there will not be an impartial judgment of acts of war criminality where there are victor and defeated.

Equally impracticable was the Pope's suggestion that leaders in war should be punishable "before the law" if they ordered the execution of war crimes and that "subordinates be dispensed from executing such orders and punishable in law if they obey them."

We have seen an attempt by the French to apply this principle in the Oradour trials, with the monstrous result that Frenchmen held to be guilty of crimes against Frenchmen because they feared to resist the orders of the German Command have been held to be less guilty than Germans who were convicted of similar crimes because they also were afraid to resist the German Command.

The attempt to establish this principle would require the unqualified acceptance of the supremacy of the individual conscience. This, in turn, dictates the acceptance of the validity of conscientious objection to military service.

Very limited democracy

IT is possible that the majority of the British people are in favour of the installation on British soil of a string of American bases for

the launching of American aeroplanes carrying atom bombs; possible, but not certain, for the British people have never been consulted. It is one of the limitations of what is described as democracy that this is a matter that can be regarded as of secondary importance upon which it is not necessary that there should be popular consultation. The two main political parties—or rather the top-level caucuses of the two main political parties—are agreed upon this matter and in consequence no public discussion on the issue is felt to be necessary and it need not figure as an election issue. Hence the people are never asked.

We mention this matter now because it has a bearing on the proceedings of the Labour Party Conference, where similar considerations apply. Without being particularly explicit on the matter, the Margate Conference approved the level of armaments development instructed by the Labour Government and only slightly modified by its Tory successor. Just as the American atom-bomber bases and the British electorate it can be said that it is possible that the majority of the members of the Labour Party are in favour of the armaments policy supported by the Parliamentary Labour Party, possible, but not certain, for the members of the Labour Party have never been consulted.

A minority of the members of the Labour Party—those in the individual membership sections—have been consulted. These, however, get only one opportunity of giving effective expression to their democratically-registered viewpoint. They have done this at Margate, just as they did at last year's Conference—the return of six "Bevanites" out of the new places available for direct election by the Labour Parties.

On every other matter that comes before the Conference the issue is dominated by the block votes of the trade unions. There is nothing resembling democratic practice here, not because the votes are "block" votes, but because in the overwhelming majority of cases there has not been the slightest consultation of the members on whose behalf they are proposed to be cast as to the way in which they should be registered. Generally speaking, the issue has not even been consultation of the executives of the unions concerned.

These votes are cast purely on the decision of the delegations, and in all the circumstances it is inevitable that in the main they should be used in the way the platform desires.

Both the main political parties are completely dominated; and when it happens that there is agreement between the two caucuses democracy is squeezed out.

What obtains in Britain is a great deal better than the single-party totalitarian method of government in Yugoslavia, Spain, Russia and the Russian vassal states; but it is very far from being a genuine democracy.

American military expenditure

FOLLOWING our comments on estimated military expenditure for next year, figures supplied by the US Committee Against Militarisation show that the expenditure for the current fiscal year (ending June, 1954) is 15 billion dollars (or more than 15 billion pounds).

This is estimated to be equivalent to payment for the labour of 19 per cent. of the working population.

THE FUTURE OF KOREA

modern American equipment and is said by some to be the most powerful in the world, those of the great powers excepted, will be installed as a result of "free elections," etc., then it is proposing a thinly disguised US victory. Such a regime would in effect constitute a US foothold on the Asiatic continent and will certainly not be accepted by the Communist powers unless, which seems unlikely, they simply are powerless to prevent it.

LETTER FROM U.S.A. By A. J. Muste

Let us assume at least for the moment that the State Department has something better in mind, the establishment of a new regime—neither the present South Korean nor the present North Korean camouflaged—as a result of free elections. This should mean the virtual dismantling of the present military establishments and the creation of a new one suited to the new regime—whatever "suited" may mean in such a context.

This would constitute a great change in the US approach and it would obviously take a good deal of "persuasion" to get Syngman Rhee to agree or to remove himself.

There is a real question as to whether the treaty of mutual defence between US and South Korea, unless it is abrogated, does not constitute an insuperable obstacle to the adoption of the latest proposal. One can already hear the cry of "appeasement" of Communism and of "base desertion" of Rhee and Chiang raised by our Asia Firsters. If in spite of all this the plan is carried out, it will prove that the Eisenhower administration is prepared to pay a big price for reducing its military commitments in Korea and perhaps other points in Asia.

Mr. Vyshinsky's first reaction was that the Soviet Union's attitude toward the idea of a unified and neutralised Korea depended on what the proposal meant when spelled out.

"For instance," he said, "who would do the guaranteeing? What forms would the guarantee take?" He paused until an aide had translated this, then added emphatically,

"et cetera."

As I see it, the Soviet Union and China have to face exactly the same problem as does the US. If they are essentially determined to retain the North Korean regime or a replica of it, then they want a thinly disguised Communist victory. This "solution" the US will not accept, save in the unlikely event that it is utterly impotent to prevent it.

Similarly, if the big Communist powers are ready to accept the liquidation of the present North Korean regime and its armed forces "et cetera," that would represent a big change on their part. It would prove they were ready to pay a big price for reducing their strategic commitments.

If both sides were thus disposed, it would be welcome. It would not be peace unless much more happened.

The decision whether a nation shall disarm with armed forces should be left to its own people and not imposed upon them. If a unified and neutralised Korea decided that its "self-respect" demanded that it should have about as big a military establishment as it could support, just like other nations, then it would inevitably be entangled in the power struggle.

Its "guaranteed neutrality" would be like the uneasy, and eventually shattered "neutrality" of Belgium.

The bigger the Korean forces, the more apprehension on the part of its neighbours, the more pressure to line them up on one side or the other as soon as the now somewhat tired Powers have recouped their energies.

Would that a free and independent Korea would write a war-renouncing clause into its Constitution similar to Japan's and that these two peoples joined together to make it stick. Pacifists, surely, should advocate a voluntarily disarmed as well as unified and neutralised Korea.

Would US and USSR guarantee the inviolability and neutrality of such peoples? To do so would indeed pose problems for them. Their own people might ask, "If Korea and Japan can have the benefits of disarmament and pacifism, why not we?"

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orean forces, the more app- part of its neighbour- to line them up on one- s soon as the now somew- have recouped their ener- free and independent Kore- war-renouncing clause- a similar to Japan's and- oles joined together to- surely, should advocate- armed as well as unified- rea.

USSR guarantee the inv- trality of such peoples? To- deed pose problems for- ple might ask, "If Korea- can have the benefits of- pacifism, why not we?"

Militarism in Japan

PREPARING TO BREAK THE CONSTITUTION

BY ICHIRO TAKENAKA

Ichiro Takenaka is the son of Dr. Katsuo Takenaka, a member of the Upper House of the Japanese Diet. Dr. Takenaka is a leading figure in the Social Democratic Party of Japan and the Japanese Fellowship of Reconciliation.

THERE is nothing in the current and past Japanese Diet sessions more ridiculous than the argument on the definition of war potential.

Despite the Diet recess, the foreign affairs committee of the House of Representatives is continuing to meet in order to study the Government's plan for strengthening defence. The committee's efforts are of particular importance at this time when the Government, revising its past attitude, has a plan to increase the National Safety Force by 20,000 to 40,000 men and has also expressed its wish to entrust the NSF with the duty of repelling direct external aggression.

It is regrettable therefore that due to frequently ambiguous replies by Government representatives, the core of the problem has failed to be touched. In this respect, an increasing tendency has been noted of late among Government representatives in high positions to blame newspapers for "misquotation" whenever any statement made by them turns into an issue. We can only ask that such an attitude be abandoned and that Government leaders be more responsible for the statements that they make.

Conservative viewpoint

The defence subcommittee of the Progressive Party (one of the Conservatives) had reached a conclusion that possession of war potential for the purpose of self-defence is not a violation of Article 9 of the State Constitution. The Social Democratic Party and the reformists find this opinion hard to understand.

The Progressive Party's new interpretation, which is said to have been studied by a group of party scholars headed by Dr. Ichiro Kiyose, views the Constitution as permitting self-defence. They consider that if an aggressor is likely to attack with up-to-date armaments, the defender should be provided with equal armaments. Consequently, if the 'Progressives' theory is carried out further, it will mean in this age of atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs that because of the fear that such weapons may be used, Japan too should possess A-bombs and H-bombs.

The preamble to the Japanese Constitution says:

"Desiring peace for all time and fully conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, we have determined to rely for our security and survival upon the justice and good faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world."

If modern armaments are to be permitted in the name of self-defence, it is equivalent to Japan feeling that she can no longer "rely for security and survival upon the justice and good faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world."

INDIA HESITATES ON CONSCRIPTION

By MARK SUNDER-RAO

A debate over compulsory military training, in India's House of the People (Assembly) has presented the anomaly of former Gandhi followers recommending it, with a Defense Minister in opposition. Movers of a resolution for the training, to be provided for all high school and college students, declared it would "resurrect the youth from a sense of frustration" and increase their physical fitness. The Deputy Defense Minister, Satis Chandra, argued that the cost would be prohibitive, and the points made by proponents were unconvincing.

Currently, almost 45,000 students between the ages of 15 and 26 are being given semi-military training under the government-sponsored National Cadet Corps scheme, which is purely optional. The cost runs to 19,000,000 rupees annually. A universal training plan, for 2,500,000 boys, would cost nearly 100,000,000 rupees annually—or as much as the Damodar Valley Corporation, one of the biggest land reclamation projects in the world.

The debate was inconclusive, but observers expect the proposal to be dropped, since the mood of the country is not thought favorable.

TO TALK ON "FRIENDSHIP HOUSE"

LESLIE and Wanda Hayman, of "Friendship House" ("Das Freundschaftsheim") at Roekke in Germany are passing through England, on their way to a lecture tour in the USA, after which Leslie Hayman is to resume his work as a Methodist Minister in New Zealand.

They are to speak on the work at Friendship House, with coloured slides, at the Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., W.C.1., on Wed., Oct. 14, at 7.30 p.m. They would especially like to meet former volunteers, and any who would like to visit Friendship House next year.

Hilda von Klenze writes: Leslie and Wanda Hayman's successors at the "Freundschaftsheim" will be Jim Relyea who is later to be joined by Gunnar Sundberg. Since his



JAPANESE TROOPS IN ACTION
Will the world see this again?

Prime Minister Yoshida and the Liberal Party have so far maintained the attitude that there will be no rearmament and that it is therefore unnecessary to amend the Constitution. They have maintained that "war potential is overall power to use modern armaments effectively" and that anything short of such power is not an infringement of the Constitution.

Deputy Prime Minister Taketora Ogata has said that atomic bombs cannot be war potential unless they are employed in war. He apparently believes nothing is war potential unless it is actually used in war. Foreign Minister Katsuo Okazaki has said war potential means capabilities to wage war "independently" of aggression. It is evident that they were referring to the character of the National Safety Force which in the eyes of almost everybody except the Government is a virtual, if not complete, army.

Pressure from U.S.?

It may be that the Government has hitherto been over-optimistic regarding the defence problem but is no longer able to conceal the true facts from the public. It should be recognised clearly that Mutual Security Aid is military aid. The Government acts on the assumption that it can secure economic aid in some way through MSA aid.

Why has the Government changed its attitude? The people's attention has been centered of late on repeated warnings by prominent Americans that Japan's defence is insufficient and that Japanese economy is spending too much on unnecessary things. In some quarters there is the suspicion that the Government's change of attitude has been due to American pressure. Such suspicion can only abet the Communists' attempts to arouse anti-American feeling.

As for the fact mentioned above, our Social Democratic Party has been opposed to both the 'Progressives' and the Liberals' interpretations. Because rearmament which will absorb a quarter of the national income, will surely lead to the destruction of Japanese economy fundamentally. Consequently, the independence of the Nation and the peace of Asia, and the world, would surely be menaced. Such opportunistic attitudes have the danger of impairing the dignity of the Constitution, the highest law of the land. Instead of making efforts to amend the Constitution, both parties seem to be spending their time in mere "interpretation."

retirement Pastor Mensching, founder of the friendship centre, has also been able to give more time to it.

The "Freundschaftsheim" owes a very real debt of gratitude to Leslie and Wanda Hayman for their devoted work during the first and sometimes stormy years of its existence.

The fact that it developed from a single Nissen hut to a stately building and from a tentative venture to a firmly established institution is not less due to their untiring efforts.

The centre's many friends in Germany and abroad will be sorry to see them go, but their best wishes for a happy future will accompany Leslie and Wanda Hayman to their new home in New Zealand.

How young America sees Europe

LECTURER in Law at King's College, London, Mr. Norman St. John-Stevens, writing in the Daily Telegraph reports some of his impressions of young Americans visiting Europe.

Mr. St. John-Stevens was invited to serve as a lecturer on board a ship carrying 800 undergraduates on their first trip to Europe. Other lecturers came from West European countries. Their function was to prepare the travellers for their introduction to the Continent.

Summing up attitudes, the writer says:

"Gregariousness is the quality which most strikingly distinguishes American from European students. Such an attitude has both advantages and disadvantages. Lame ducks are made to fly, while in English universities the tendency is for them to become lazier and lazier and finally complete cripples.

"A less attractive aspect of this attitude is the complete inability to retire from the crowd. A withdrawal to one's cabin for a period of more than 15 minutes would end in a barrage of anxious inquiries as to the state of one's health. It is from this communal life that the uniformity of outlook springs.

ENTHUSIASM FOR KNOWLEDGE

"Enthusiasm for gathering knowledge was universal and infectious. Apart from the ceaseless private conversations, discussions and debates, the business of imparting information was carried out by means of panels. A set speech of about 10 minutes from each member of the panel precedes the answering of questions.

"An American student audience knows no inhibitions; any and every question is asked, with no attempt made to show subtlety or conceal ignorance. A barrage of questions is kept up from the opening of the session to its close.

"The political sentiment of the students was overwhelmingly liberal. They were united in condemning Senator McCarthy and were horrified to hear of the notoriety which he had gained in Europe and the harm he had done to Anglo-American relations.

"Their attitude to Communism was very much more clear-cut than the average European's, and showed the typical American tendency to over-simplify American policy on the recognition of Red China received scant support and there was general agreement that the British policy was more fruitful.

"I was struck by the national self-consciousness of the students, their continual self-examination and self-criticism, and their acute awareness of America's shortcomings. A problem which agitated everybody was why America, who had done so much for Europe, should be increasingly unpopular."

Worker-Priests experiment to end?

From a Correspondent

AMONG hopeful experiments of recent years has been one by a group of Roman Catholic priests in France.

These men, having finished their theological training, took jobs in factories and workshops so that they might fully identify themselves with the workers. They have tried to break through the class character of the Church and show the workers that the Christian religion has a message for them.

It is occasionally possible to encounter these men in the evening rush-hour on the Paris Metro returning home with the dust of their work upon them. Their evenings they spend in works of devotion among the working-class populations of their parishes.

The experiment is now meeting with the disapproval of the French Hierarchy and the Vatican. The Seminary at Limoges for the training of such priests has now been informed that its priests are no longer to be permitted to take jobs in factories.

IDENTITY WITH WORKING CLASS

These worker-priests have clearly been subject to special risks and they have doubtless made some mistakes. They have sought to make themselves one with their fellows in their aims and aspirations, and as the working-class movement in France is so largely Communist some of the priests, while not becoming Communists, have arrived at a sympathetic understanding of the factors that have made Communists of their working-class comrades.

Two of these priests were badly beaten by the police after being arrested when the police attacked a working-class demonstration in the streets last May, and although the incident was followed by an apology by the Prefect, it seems to have been one of the factors that have led to the present decision.

If this inspiring experiment in Christian love is to be brought to an end it is greatly to be regretted.

SOVIET NAVAL BASE ABANDONED

From a Correspondent

IN Peace News for September 11, we published an account of the cessation of the policy of militarisation in East Germany that had followed the events of June 16. Our correspondent now informs us that there has been a considerable change of policy in regard to the island of Ruegen, in the Baltic.

A powerful Soviet naval base had been planned for this island. It would have been the farthest-west strong point. There were rumours that the inhabitants of the island were to be evacuated, and about 1,000 prisoners were set to work on the island.

This plan has apparently now been given up. The 1,000 men have been sent away. The people of the island are not now to be evacuated.

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VINOBA BHAVE INJURED

A CHARYA VINOBA BHAVE and three other people were injured in an attack by a group of orthodox Brahmin priests as they led a party of untouchables into the ancient temple of Baidyanath at Deoghar near Patna, capital of Bihar State this week.

Vinoba Bhave is walking throughout India appealing for land gifts for distribution to the landless. Mahatma Gandhi had the same experience at this temple 20 years ago. Mr. Gandhi said then that until untouchables were allowed into the temple, Deoghar (which means "abode of God") "will belie its holy name."

Christian leaders support Bhoodan Yagna

Kottayam, India.

A CHARYA VINOBA BHAVE'S "Bhoodan Yagna" (Land Gift Sacrifice) Movement has received support from the heads of the indigenous churches located in the south eastern coastal strip of India, commonly known as the Kerala region. In a joint statement to the Protestant and Syrian Christians in this part of the country the bishops urge them to counter the violence of the Communists with the love and non-violence basic to the Land Gift Movement.

Nearly a million and a half acres of land have now been distributed through the appeals of Vinoba Bhave for voluntary gifts. This is in contrast to some 30,000 acres distributed by Indian Communists in places where they have sufficient political power.

The signatories to the statement endorsing Vinoba Bhave were the bishops of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, the Malankara Jacobite Syrian Church, the Knana Syrian Church and the Kottayam diocese of the Church of South India. Among them they reckon nearly a fourth of the entire non-Catholic Christian population of the country.

Considerable importance attaches to this open move on the part of the bishops because no other church prelates have so far come out thus in support of the Land Gift Movement on their own initiative. Besides, the Christian elements in this part of India, which comprises Malabar and Travancore-Cochin states, are among the wealthiest in the nation. The ancient churches count among their members many influential proprietors of large land areas.

YOUR WORLD LAST WEEK

BELGIAN CONGO: White settlers in the Congo are opening up their clubs and organisations to Africans and encouraging them to join. More important, perhaps, the authorities have decreed that hereafter Africans may buy land of their own, something hitherto impossible. (WP.)

FRANCE: Lord Ismay, the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, said that the construction of new airfields for NATO forces was going forward at the rate of one per week. (Two hundred and twenty airfields would be ready by the end of 1953.)

INDIA: India is building its first atomic pile and expects to have it in operation within two or three years. Dr. J. Bhabha, chairman of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission, said that the whole effort would be devoted to peaceful purposes.

INDO-CHINA: The United States is to grant France supplementary aid up to \$135 m. before the end of next year for the war in Indo-China.

MALAYA: More than half a million Chinese and Malay people have been removed from their homes to "resettlement areas" during the present campaign.

SOUTH AFRICA: Dr. Malan said South Africa could abolish the monarchy, i.e., become a republic with a majority of one vote in Parliament. He said it remained to be seen how long the country could stay in the United Nations.

USA: The Washington correspondent of the Daily Telegraph reports that there are indications that America is fast approaching the time when hydrogen bombs can be made on assembly line principles. "After initial complications, it seems that they may be easier to produce than atom bombs."

AT MARGATE



THE Labour Peace Fellowship bookstall in the Winter Gardens at Margate which attracted the attention of many Labour Party Conference delegates was staffed and organised by Peace News at the request of the LPF.

Hundreds stopped to sign the No Conscription Council's petition which was displayed there and to browse through the wide range of peace literature which was on show.

Best sellers were the report of the Quaker Mission to Moscow and pamphlets by Donald Soper, Michael Scott, Emrys Hughes and Harold Wilson, and, of course, Peace News.

The ability of Peace News, through its own bookshop, to provide a bookstall to peace organisations is something of incalculable value to the peace movement in this country.

It is one of the things which contributors to the Peace News Fund help to preserve.

Although sales at Margate totalled £22, the margin of profit does not cover the expenses involved in carriage, fares and staff time, and certainly not the cost of the many hundreds of Peace News leaflets given away.

Will you help, through a contribution to the Peace News Fund, in ensuring that our bank balance does not suffer as a result of this most worthwhile activity? HUGH BROCK.

Contributions since Sept. 25: £40 15s. 4d. Total since Jan. 1, 1953: £1,100 0s. 9d. An anonymous donation of 10s. is gratefully acknowledged from West Kirby.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Peace workers and capital punishment

By ELLEN STARR BRINTON

OPPPOSITION to the death penalty as punishment for violent crime has been a feature of the platforms of the peace movement ever since the first pacifist organisation in 1815.

Human life has been considered sacred and the taking of it a violation of Christian principles, and civilised standards of ethics. Thus sooner or later the early societies organised against international warfare found it necessary to include also opposition to the duel and laws which prescribed death for those committing certain crimes.

Duelling has gone. Public sentiment against legal executions of criminals has grown steadily in the past 125 years, and the leaders in the crusade have been men and women closely identified with peace societies.

Conspicuous in the present year was an appeal sent out by The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom from its Geneva office to the Governments of ninety-seven countries and to hundreds of organisations, periodicals, and newspapers. It stated that from the inception of the League in 1915 it had believed that no authority was entitled to sentence a human being to death.

The statement referred to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and declared that capital punishment violates this principle in both, and contributes to the brutalization of the mind of man.

Since the recent sensational dual execution of the Rosenbergs in the United States on the charge of treason, and of Christie in England on multiple charges of murder, the question of the merits and the demerits of capital punishment has become again a live issue.

A brief review of the present attitudes of governments and people toward the death penalty compared with those of the past generations shows some striking changes. In England in 1780 there were 240 offences punishable by death, and these included stealing of bread and fishing in the wrong stream. By 1820 the list had been reduced to 160 crimes. Laws in 1822 reduced the number precipitately to 60, and by 1885 only three offences were designated as deserving the death penalty—murder, piracy, and treason.

The attitude of Quakers may have helped to prevent excesses in the New World. William Penn set a precedent when he established in Pennsylvania his "Great Act" of 1682 and prescribed the death penalty only for premeditated murder. However the hanging and burning of witches and "heretics" in New England is part of the early history of America, and hanging of horse thieves in the western states was a general practice until the late decades of the nineteenth century.

It is possible to trace the development of the thinking of peace groups in England and the United States through their monthly and quarterly bulletins, issued almost from their origin in 1815-1816. The societies were all against war, but only gradually did they learn of the conflicts that lead to war and of the after consequences.

IN July 1840, the London Peace Society printed its annual report in its *Herald of Peace*, and an important section was on the subject of the death penalty.

"We can report a happy change which public opinion has undergone in regard to

capital punishment. Very few took any interest thirty years ago. Now the desire for abolition is almost universal."

In the United States the subject had been debated for years in a comparable group—the American Peace Society. William Ladd, the Secretary, a conscientious peace worker and the great organiser from 1829 till his death in 1842, felt that bringing other issues than war into the society distracted attention and defeated "the intentions of the founder." The disagreement finally came to a head in 1846 when nine important leaders of the American Peace Society withdrew their support. Foremost among these was Elihu Burritt, "The Learned Blacksmith" of Connecticut, who had been living in England for several years and working with outstanding peace leaders there. Their public statement carried this pronouncement: "The position of some of us on capital punishment is said to injure the American Peace Society; so we retire, and resign our offices." The signers included the president, the editor of the bulletin, *Advocate of Peace*, the treasurer, and other important leaders.

THE ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for November 1952, is devoted entirely to "Murder and the Death Penalty."

One of the authors, writing on the history of the abolition movement in the United States, makes many references to writings of early peace leaders. John Howard, the English prison reformer for whom the Howard Prison Society is named, is given credit for striking the first spark. The first reasoned argument in America against capital punishment was said to have stemmed from a paper read in 1787 by Dr. Benjamin Rush at the home of Benjamin Franklin.

Then followed other essays devoted to the peace question, and including abolition of Capital Punishment by distinguished American clergymen and college professors, published in pamphlet or book form, in 1818, 1836, 1845. Alfred H. Love, founded the Universal Peace Union in Philadelphia in 1868, and for over forty years carried on a vigorous campaign for world peace and against the death penalty. He may not have converted more than a fraction of the membership of his organisation but he never faltered in his attitude. As early as 1883 he addressed the National Prison Society on abolishing capital punishment. He was appointed an official visitor to the nearby state penitentiary, and kept up these activities as long as he lived.

IN another article in the same copy of *The Annals* is an analysis of current trends regarding capital punishment. They were influenced by the conflict between the world growth in humanitarianism, and the increasing political pressure in many areas on minority groups and individuals who do not conform in deed and in thinking to the national party in power.

The author, Peter P. Lejins, formerly of Latvia, and now teaching at the University of Maryland, calls attention to the fact that the movement to abolish capital punishment, while growing in regard to non-political offences, seems to be almost halted in political offences. Some countries have now given up capital punishment entirely for murder and other civil crimes, and yet there is evidence of tremendous increase in outright executions, and veiled methods of exterminating persons for political and divergent political views. He considers that "the cause of abolition loses force and popular appeal if the group is worrying over a few dozen lives, when millions are being put to death the world over in slower and less spectacular ways."

There seems to be a well-established trend in many countries to decrease the list of offences for which the death penalty is mandatory by law. According to historic records Russia first abolished capital punishment in 1753-54, and thus became the earliest in the western world to make such a decree. Some countries have had no executions for a long time. In other countries, and in some states in the United States of America, a wave of humanitarianism would serve to do away with the death penalty regardless of offence, and then some particularly publicised crime would occur which roused public opinion to again demand death in retaliation. Such reverses of law have taken place several times.

ACCORDING to a report of the Howard League for Penal Reform, issued in September, 1950, these 15 European countries do not now have any death penalty for ordinary criminal offenders: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Roumania, Sweden, Switzerland, USSR, Western Germany.

Ecuador and Uruguay are completely free from the death penalty even for treason and military offences. These countries have abolished capital punishment for ordinary criminal offences: Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Panama, Peru, Venezuela.

Mr. Noel-Baker is worried

Thinks conscript lads should be better informed

BY THE EDITOR

MR. PHILIP NOEL-BAKER has written an article in the Daily Herald because he is disturbed about a number of things. He is disturbed about the perfunctory attitude of the British Government to the working of the United Nations, and here we have every sympathy with him; he is disturbed because no trouble has been taken to see that the young lads who were sent to Korea were instructed in the official account of what they were fighting about, and here we think he is being dangerously naive; and he is also disturbed about a comment that a young soldier made to him about why the fighting went on so long.

This lad had said to him:

"But if you want to know why we were made to stay there, why the fighting went on so long, I can tell you that one. We found out not long ago that just south of the 38th Parallel there's a uranium deposit, and, of course, the Americans were going to make damned sure that THAT stayed in their hands instead of falling to the Chinese."

Now this story, says Mr. Noel-Baker, is an invention. It may be "soldiers' chatter," or it may be one more Communist trick. Mr. Noel-Baker knows this to be so because he has learned "on the very highest authority" that there is no uranium deposit in the Republic of Korea.

We think we can help Mr. Noel-Baker to an understanding of what has happened here. It must be remembered that many of the soldiers who engage in the chatter are little more than boys, and if there is some little garbling of the stories they pass on to each other it is hardly to be wondered at.

Now there is a story that there are valuable tungsten deposits in Korea, near the 38th parallel. Tungsten is a very valuable mineral that is used for hardening steel. It is required for jet planes, armour-piercing missiles and gun linings. In 1948 the world's total output of tungsten was 32,000 tons, of which China supplied 12,200. It will be realised then that the supply available from Korea has a certain military importance.

TUNGSTEN FOR U.S.

We published in Peace News last February a number of statements about tungsten in Korea of which we reproduce now that taken from the Mining Journal for January 9. This remarked that the richest tungsten mines

"are not far north of our present positions and a successful drive, say about 70 miles up the peninsula, would transfer possession to the allied side."

"It is true enough to say that tungsten supplies represent about the only material benefit which the United States is currently deriving from the leading part it is playing in UNO's fight on the Korean peninsula. In this connection, a despatch which appeared last week in the Portland Oregonian is of considerable interest. In the first of a series of articles on Korea syndicated by the Chicago Sun-Times; Mr. Frederick Kuh writing from Pusan on December 29 gives the following facts which have apparently been released with UNO Command's approval:

"Tungsten is about the only material gain the United States is getting from its large military and economic commitment in Korea. Almost one half of South Korea's total exports, according to value, consists of tungsten, and the United States is enjoying a monopoly of these deliveries.

"During the past fiscal year, South Korea's total exports were worth about \$20,000,000, of which tungsten accounted for \$9,500,000. All of it went towards America's stockpile.

"American army engineers are reported to be supervising the working of the tungsten mines near the front. In the past six or eight months, South Korea's output of this precious ore has been doubled. Exports to the US are steadily increasing. New mining equipment is expected further to enlarge output. With China's tungsten supply now available only to the Communist bloc, Korea's production is at a premium."

CONSCRIPTS MUST NOT THINK

Uranium and tungsten are very different things. We do not think, however, that Mr. Noel-Baker would hold that the substitution that had occurred in the garbled version of the story that these boys were passing on really made much difference to the moral they were apparently drawing from it.

The main thing that troubled Mr. Noel-Baker was the fact that it had been nobody's business to see that this lad understood what the fighting was all about. He had been instructed about the fighting conditions, the climate, the mountains, and the enemy weapons and tactics, but nobody had held it to be necessary to see that he understood why the war was being waged.

It would appear that the present Government, like the Government that preceded it,

That word "peace"

A YOUNG man and his girl sat together on the top deck. She was obviously from Italy. She began to adjust a headscarf which had a peace slogan printed on it.

This somewhat unusual procedure called for comment: "Oh," he said, "you mustn't wear anything suggestive of peace here you know. They'll think you're a Communist or a crank or a fellow-traveller, or," pause, laughingly, "even a Christian."

THE CHURCH AND PEACE

A conference on the Church and peace is to be held in Detroit in December by the Church Peace Mission in preparation for the next general assembly of the World Council of Churches which is to take place in the USA at Evanston Ill., in August next year.

regards this as a superfluity, and so "the men most intimately concerned" are not given this understanding, a state of affairs that Mr. Noel-Baker finds rather shocking.

Perhaps those who decide that the briefing of these lads shall be confined to military matters, however, are more realistic than Mr. Noel-Baker.

When the Government with which he was associated decided that the previous teachings of the Labour Party on the subject of conscription were outdated, and that the best people to be conscripted were lads of 18, who were not yet sufficiently mature to be expected to have an understanding of political matters that would warrant their being permitted to vote, there was no stipulation in this legislation that the lads would only be asked to fight in causes of which they approved. This was not regarded as their business. Their function was to be the instruments of a policy that others would decide upon. Even if, having been compelled to be soldiers, they were then to be given the instruction Mr. Noel-Baker holds to be desirable, we do not think he would suggest that they should be encouraged to express disagreement if they found themselves unconvinced. Still less do we think he would suggest that they should be exempted from the job of fighting if they held the view that the case that had been presented to them did not make them feel that they would be justified in engaging in the killing of men.

ONLY FOR FREE MEN

Without such freedom in the expression of their views and in founding their actions on what they believe, any such briefing as Mr. Noel-Baker is urging would be just a process of "conditioning" and we have too much respect for Mr. Noel-Baker's record and qualities to think that this is what he would like to see.

Free discussion is for free men. Conscription has ceased to be free men. What Mr. Noel-Baker is advocating is the introduction of a considerable instalment of totalitarian procedures. He should think again.

A FARMER'S LOG BOOK

THE recorded death rate from bovine tuberculosis in this country is in the 2,000 per year mark. The figure is startling. So much so that the Government has at last decided to take action and has decreed that all milk producers must be attested by 1956. Furthermore, in the event of farms with non-attested herds changing hands, the herd must become attested within three months.

Now I have no doubt that this is an excellent plan, indeed it is a reform long overdue, and in any case there is little satisfaction in knowing that the food you are struggling to produce may be causing disease and even death. Nevertheless it has been a big headache on this farm.

We took over from the previous owner a non-attested Friesian herd; 30 milking cows and 29 young stock and followers, plus a somewhat contrary bull! They were not a good herd. The average milk yield was under three gallons, ridiculously low for this breed. No doubt we would have sold many of them in any case, and the first thing we did was to have them examined and to get rid of the dozen reactors. The main problem has been the buildings.

These are so far from the required standards as to require very costly alterations. To make a thorough job of it with a view to selling the present herd and building up a pedigree attested herd of Guernseys, we would have to spend about five or six thousand pounds.

Alternatively we could have a parlour built quite cheaply. Under this scheme the cows would actually be housed in the present sheds, and milked, four at a time, in a separate building. Since it is the housing conditions that give rise to disease in the animals it is difficult to understand how this routine satisfies the authorities.

Finally we have hit upon a plan that seems to be the answer to our problems; the fail system. Here the cattle bed out, winter and summer, and the bail, a sort of miniature movable milking parlour, is brought out to them in the fields. It is a completely self-contained unit, with a dairy at one end and all the latest equipment. There is an immense saving of time with them since there is no milking out and washing down and all the rest of it.

Herein, however, lies its one drawback: there is no dungheap to draw on for compost making, and all the manure goes back raw on the pastures. I am convinced that, if possible, it is far better for all dung to return to the soil via the compost heap.

Michael Randle

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MR. ATTLEE AND HIS OVERCOAT

MR. ATTLEE remarked at the Labour Party Conference at Margate that we could not immediately agree to disarm because Russia had shown signs of appearing to be more reasonable. It was not very wise, he said, to take off your overcoat because the sun showed signs of coming out on a cold day.

So we must keep on our overcoat. Even to unbutton it before we are quite sure summer has arrived would be taking risks.

Foreigners must now surely realise that British politicians are very careful about precautions against the weather. Neville Chamberlain carried his umbrella and now Mr. Attlee sticks to his overcoat. It is warm, it protects you from wind and cold, in it you feel comfortable.

No enthusiasm for arms

I have often heard armaments described as the shield but I have never heard the analogy of the overcoat before.

When the Russians hear this they will say: "Of course we would be the last persons in the world to want to deprive Mr. Attlee of his overcoat, but we need ever so much more protection against the snow in Russia than they do in Britain. Why does Mr. Attlee want us to take off our fur coats before he starts unbuttoning his overcoat?"

Now these little analogies can be very comfortable and rather deceptive. They are soothing, especially at Labour Party conferences where there is never any real enthusiasm for big armaments.

If Mr. Attlee had said "We must not cut our expenditure on atom bombs and heavy jet bombers nor any of our plans for obliterating the Russian towns and cities if they start a war" it would not have gone down so well.

That would have been stating the position accurately and realistically, for Mr. Attlee's overcoat is as little relevant to the truth about modern war as is the Archbishop of Canterbury's "Sword of God" or Sir John Anderson's brown paper.

But let us take up Mr. Attlee's analogy. Does not our rearmament programme resemble a strait-jacket more than an overcoat?

Is it not hampering British industry? In fact that is what Challenge to Britain says it does. It prevents the expansion of our engineering industries, vital if we are to increase our export trade.

We would not increase our production much if we all worked in our overcoats. And it is a very heavy overcoat, this huge annual national expenditure to which we are committed if we decide that we must go on spending £1,500,000,000 a year on defence.

Will Labour take a stand?

I fervently hope that we will have a Labour Government at the next election and that a Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer will be at the dispatch box next Budget Day.

But if he says: "We can't cut our arms expenditure this year because of the Russians, or the Chinese. We must not relax," then this time next year we won't see the restoration of the cuts in the health services or the reduction in the cost of living or more houses and schools that the Labour Party called for at Margate.

What will be the position next March when the Service Ministers come along with their Estimates? If the Tories are still there and come along with the demand for big sums for the Air Force, with all these expensive new planes, will the Labour Party be prepared to take a stand and say: "No, we must have the schools, and the hospitals that we called for at Margate, first?" And will the Labour Party be prepared to say this, too, to the Minister for War and the First Lord of the Admiralty?

And supposing Mr. Shinwell, Mr. Strachey and Mr. Arthur Henderson are back at their old jobs and presenting the Estimates, and Mr. Gaitskell has to find the money?

Will the money be available for equal pay and for a free health service and for the big capital sums that we need before we can grow more food from British land?

I am sorry to keep on asking these awkward questions but there they are. And they are not answered by Mr. Attlee's analogy of the overcoat.

Labour won't go far or move very quickly if it is in a strait-jacket.



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I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

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P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

The call-up: for defence or war?

From page one

"I have been chairman of the Richmond and Barnes Labour League of Youth, chairman of the Surrey Federation of Labour Leagues of Youth, chairman of the Southern Regional (Labour Party) Youth Advisory Committee. In the adult section of the Party I have been a member of the Executive Committee, General Council, Publicity and Propaganda, Political Education and many other committees. This activity bears out the authenticity of the objection."

The chairman, Judge Sir Gerald Hargreaves, in dismissing the case, said the objection was to a particular policy and was not a matter they could deal with—the applicant did not object to fighting as such.

No ruling in NS Act

The Tribunal has been consistent in declaring that COs must object to war under all circumstances. There is nothing in the Act which says this, and apparently interpretation is left to the Tribunals. Successive Ministers of Labour have been loth to issue directives.

There was no doubt about the genuineness of John Reekie's statement and although it must be agreed that such cases are more difficult to assess than the more general religious objections, public opinion must be roused so that a wider interpretation of the Act be made by the Tribunals.

Preparation for war

Is National Service a preparation for war or is it to be used as a means of defence and to enable young men to see the world?

At the same sitting at Fulham Town Hall it was obvious that the members of the Tribunal considered it as a preparation for war.

It ignored the fact that National Service lads, in all parts of the world today, were doing exactly what Reekie had previously stated and were likely to do for many years to come.

When John Southgate, of Runwell Hospital, Wickford, Essex, was questioned about his humanitarian objection he was told that he had to decide what was his duty when war happened, not his conscientious objection to going into the Army now. But the Army authorities want him now. No wonder some COs find it difficult, to say the least, at Fulham.

John Southgate is now working at a mental hospital. This is from choice, for he studied at the St. Martin's School of Art for four years. Because of his talents, a master of the school said he would probably take up occupational therapy and so be of still greater use to his fellow men. His mother is a group secretary of the Peace Pledge Union and she and John have rendered considerable help to the International Help for Children organisation.

This case, too, was dismissed, the reasons given being that he had not grappled with the real aspects of the matter and he must study why military service itself was wrong. He could appeal after doing that.

LPF MEETING

From page one

The Communism which thinks that the native of China and the men in the Middle West of the USA are brothers; that is the Communism to which I subscribe.

It was essential, he added, that members of the Labour movement should never forget that they were fundamentally an international Socialist movement, "not just a political party trying to delude the electors into putting them into power."

Referring to his recent visit to China, Emrys Hughes told of a lecture he had listened to in Peking given by the Minister responsible for flood-prevention work.

"I asked the interpreter what post the Minister had held previously. He had been a General in Chiang Kai-shek's army. I said I had never seen a general transferred to such useful work."

Emrys Hughes continued, amidst laughter and applause: "If I were ever Minister of War or Defence, I would transfer all generals to useful work within six months."

Turning to the present international situation, Emrys Hughes welcomed the Labour movement's opposition to an extension of the Korean war into China.

"The lesson of Korea is this: we should not go to war in any part of the world under any circumstances."

"I believe that we will end the cold war and save humanity from the terrible curse of a world war."

Leslie Hale MP spoke with great conviction of his opposition to conscription and was loudly applauded when he declared, "I will never vote for conscription again."

Endorsing Ritchie Calder's plea for an attack on world poverty, Leslie Hale recalled a problem which faced the last Labour Government. How much could the people of Britain be asked to pay for rearmament and how much for the "war on want?"

The figure was fixed at 12s. 6d. per head per week for the former and 4d. for the latter.

The Northern Diver

Bad weather in northern waters where the combined Anglo-American striking fleet has been manoeuvring in the closing stages of the NATO exercise "Mariner," caused all air activity to be suspended yesterday after early morning attacks had been made by RAF dive bombers off the North West coast of Scotland.

—Daily Telegraph, October 3, 1953

THE Island of Arran is only 60 miles round and 165 square miles over all; it is situated at the entrance to the Firth of Clyde with its southern end jutting out into the Atlantic. Its 3,000 ft. hills, rugged and precipitous, seems to rise out of the sea as though some vast volcano had thrust them forth from the bed of the ocean.

Yet, it could easily be a tiny replica of Great Britain. The sea, (as is usual in islands!) is all around, washing up against rocks or sand; there are no white cliffs of Dover, it is true, but there are granite cliffs, and caves, moors, mountains, trees, wild flowers, heather, sweet fields of corn and hay, rushing rivers

tumbling in falls to the sea, cattle, sheep, men and human beings.

Everything in fact that makes up island life, but without cities, and with no industries other than farming and fishing. It is no more self-supporting, however, than is Great Britain, for coal must come from the mainland, and petrol and oil, clothing and utensils.

It is there that I have spent my holiday, refreshing my eyes with the magical colouring of the opalescence of the sea in sunshine, the red sandstone rocks, purple heather, bracken, golden in its autumn dress, brilliant scarlet rowan berries, and high blue hills shouldering each other to the sky.

When the equinoctial gales madden the great Atlantic rollers into white topped fury, the sea-birds come driving in close to the shore. The great northern divers, gannets or solomons, as they are sometimes called, with their six-foot wing span, white barred with black, can be clearly seen diving for the fish which are their food. No vegetarians they!

They sweep low over the waves, then soaring high they hover like hawks balancing on the air, and riding the wind they somersault in a streaking dive, plummeting down with wings closing only as they pierce the water for their prey.

The human race with their dive bombers have imitated them well and truly. The bombers attached to aircraft carriers in the recent exercise "Mariner," part of which took place in the beautiful and peaceful waters of the Clyde, also ride the wind, and at a given moment peel off one after the other in a shrieking death-dealing dive.

There is a terrifying similarity between the birds and their human imitation, the only difference being that the bomber's intention is evil, the gannet's plunge is no more than a shopping expedition to purchase food.

The exercise called "Mariner" was pertinently written up in the newspapers as an experiment in defence, yet it was obvious that it was also an experiment in attack since the "enemy" laid mock mines, and mock attacks by submarines, warships and bombers were the "order of the day." Mock war in fact!

War, either real or imitation seems to be in the headlines. The end of NATO's exercise of the Scottish coast is succeeded by another more sinister kind of exercise off Jamaica. Troops embark and warships sail under "sealed orders." A US navy pilot flies a jet fighter at over 750 mph; the Woomera rocket range is ready to fire off its first experiment in pilotless mass destruction. And the political parties hold their platitudinous debates, and "fiddle" exasperatingly and ineptly while the world disintegrates.

It has seemed to me that in this insane game, pacifism resembles the beauty and the peace of my little northern island. There it staunchly stands, unmoved by storms, strongly resisting the battering breakers, and offering with its sheltered bays haven from the tempest; exquisite to the eye, sustaining to the spirit.

A double rainbow is a common sight there, a kind of symbol, in the midst of rain and mist and cloud, that the sun is there waiting to give out its warmth, and show to all, the eternal beauty of this world.

And so pacifism will stand, battered by the seas of war, swept by the gales of fear, but lifting its heart to the hills, a landmark for those who must eventually seek with courage and confidence the harbour of a warless world.

END CONSCRIPTION THIS YEAR!

Rally in Trafalgar Square

Saturday, October 17,

at 3 p.m.

Speakers:

Fenner Brockway, MP

L. J. Cuming, Michael Randle

Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison

Chairman: Hugh Brock.

Organised by the Peace Pledge Union

Minnie Pallister,
Reginald Reynolds,
Donald Soper.

Will speak at the Dick Sheppard Anniversary gathering in Mary Ward Hall, Tavistock Place, London, W.C.1 on

Saturday, October 31,

Refreshments 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

PEACE NEWS and PEACE PLEDGE UNION

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